

doing to make this a safer place to live, to protect our kids?

We work up all kinds of speeches in this Chamber, but what do we do? We have one bill, a sensible gun control bill, which says if you want to buy a gun at a gun show, we have a right to ask whether or not you have a criminal record or a history of violent mental illness. That bill passed the Senate with the vote of Vice President GORE breaking a tie. It went over to the House and disappeared. Sensible gun control. Nothing is going to happen this year. The Republican majority in the House and the Senate do not want to act on that issue.

I pray to God there is never another school tragedy in America, but if there is, each of us will be held accountable as to whether we did everything we could to keep guns out of the hands of kids and those who would misuse them, criminals and those with serious background problems.

This Senate passed a bill, barely; the House Republicans killed it. The National Rifle Association, another special interest group, won and America's families and schoolkids lost again.

100,000 teachers: This is a program the President has proposed for one simple reason. He believes, and I agree with him as a parent who has raised three kids, that if you can have fewer kids in a classroom, you have a better chance of paying attention to their needs.

I went to Wheaton High School and met with a teacher who had 15 kids in her class. She was part of the President's program. She said: Thank you; I can help the kids who are falling behind and the gifted kids; it really works better when I have a smaller class size.

What parent would not agree? I remember how tranquil life was with one child in our house and how hectic it became when the second and third arrived. Imagine a classroom of 20, 30 kids. The President said: Reduce the size of that class and I bet you have more kids who can read, learn basic math, and have a better chance for their education.

The Republicans want to kill it. They do not agree. Last year, they voted for it; this year, they want to kill it. This is a partisan battle. The losers are the families across America who expect us to do something in Washington to make education better for our kids and give them a chance.

Cops on the Beat Program: I see my friend, Senator LEAHY, from the Judiciary Committee. I am proud to serve with him. He was one of the leaders on the President's program to send 100,000 police to local communities and reduce crime.

Do my colleagues know what happened when we sent policemen out to the cities of Chicago, and Cairo, IL, and across America? The crime rate came down. The people who wanted to commit a crime looked around and saw there were a few more cops and squad

cars and decided not to do it. Thank goodness. It meant fewer victims and less crime perpetrated on the people in this country.

The Republicans fought us tooth and nail. They do not want to continue this program despite its proven success. They have put partisanship ahead of reality. The reality is we all want to be safe in our neighborhoods. We want our kids safe in school. The President has a program that works, and they want to kill it, stop the 100,000 COPS Program. That is so shortsighted.

The Medicare prescription drug program: Here is one where seniors across America tell us—Senator DODD from Connecticut, Senator LEAHY, and others—that this is a very real concern, paying that bill every single month for these prescription drugs that Medicare does not cover. The President has a plan to move us forward. The Republicans say: Oh, here comes a brand new program.

They have a self-financing mechanism, as they should, to make certain we do not cause any more problems to the fiscal picture in the Medicare program. The fact that we cannot move forward on this Presidential suggestion of a Medicare prescription drug program is going to be a serious problem for seniors across America.

So we come to the end of this session with an empty basket, with nothing to show to families across America. Oh, we have drawn our paychecks, we punched our time cards for our pensions, and we are headed home looking forward to the holidays, and we have nothing to show for it.

My basic question to the Republican leadership is, Why are you here? Why do you want to be called leaders if you do not want to lead? Why do you ask to serve in the Senate, which was formerly known as the greatest deliberative body in the world, if you do not even want to deliberate these questions? Why are you afraid to debate these questions? If your position is so sound and solid, for goodness' sake, stand up and defend it. Let me argue my best point of view, you do the same, and let's have a rollcall vote up or down, yes or no. Let it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to be seen by the United States and the world.

That is why we are here. That is why we ran for these offices—not for a title but to do something for America's families. We have not done it this year. We have not done anything substantive to help these families lead a better life.

We have lost opportunities, and I hope we do not continue to lose opportunities. We have given in to special interests time and time again. We have forgotten the interest of America's families.

I sincerely hope Senator DASCHLE, who took this floor earlier, prevails; that he can convince Senator LOTT, the Republican leader, to finally let Senators roll up their sleeves and get down to work. Goodness' sake, in the last 2 weeks, let's do something substantial.

Let's have courage to vote on the issues. To stop debate and put a gag rule on Senators so we cannot offer amendments on all the issues I mentioned, frankly, is a travesty. It is a travesty not only on those who serve here, but on the history of this great institution of which I am proud to be a part. I sincerely hope Senator DASCHLE can prevail, and we can have the debate which the American families deserve.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RETIREMENT OF LONG-TIME SENATE EMPLOYEE, KATHY KEUP

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on Friday, October 29—tomorrow—the Senate will say a fond farewell to one of its longest serving employees, someone who has been with me almost 19 years, Kathy Keup.

Kathy Keup began her Senate service almost 34 years ago. She is one of the longest serving employees in the Senate. She began her service November 1, 1965. On that date, Kathy Keup joined the staff of her home State Senator, Ed Muskie of Maine. After nearly 6 years of service with Senator Muskie, Kathy Keup served on the staffs of Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington and Senator John Culver of Iowa. She also served for several years in the 1970s on the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Some of our colleagues who have been here a few years will recall, back in those days, it was not uncommon for Senate staff, both Republican and Democratic, to serve for temporary stints on their caucus' campaign committees. As a historical note, the campaign offices were actually located in this building. That practice is long since over, but 25, 30 years ago, that was not an uncommon practice.

As I mentioned at the outset, for the past 18 years and 9 months, it has been my very good fortune to have Kathy Keup as a member of my staff. In fact, she joined my office just a few days after I was sworn in as a new Member of this very body. I can say without any hesitation that each and every day of her time in my office has been marked by a consistent, thorough, and outstanding commitment on her part to serving not only me and the people I represent in Connecticut, but the public at large across this country.

As a fellow New Englander, perhaps the highest compliment we can bestow on any individual is to say they are a true Yankee, and Kathy is a true Yankee, in all the wonderful meanings of that word. She epitomizes the very best values of our region of the country. She is very diligent and hard-working, and respectful of others, no matter their station in life. She is modest and discreet, a person of few

words. Indeed, in an era and in a city where the dubious quality of self-promotion is rarely in short supply, Kathy Keup serves as a living reminder of the timeless virtue of letting one's work speak for itself.

She also possesses the virtues of loyalty and dedication. The Senators and others for whom she has worked over the years could always take comfort in knowing she would be at her desk each morning at 7 o'clock, as she has been with me for almost 19 years, come rain, shine, snow, or whatever the weather.

She earned the trust of those around her, not by what she said but by what she did, reliably and superbly, day in and day out, for these past 34 years.

Each of us who is privileged to serve as a Member of the Senate knows well the importance of having loyal and talented men and women who work with us in this wonderful institution. These public servants may not have their names on election certificates or in the newspapers, but they are vitally important to the ability of the Senate to function on behalf of the American people. In a very real sense, they make the wheels of this democracy turn every single day. And in so doing, they make real the timeless promise of our representative government.

Kathy Keup has dedicated her working life—her entire working life—to the Senate. By her efforts over more than a third of a century, she has made an invaluable contribution to this institution and to the country as a whole. She epitomizes what a Senate staff person should be. She has rendered truly exemplary service to this individual Senator, to our former colleagues whom I mentioned already, to the Senate, and to our Nation.

Come next Monday morning, I will call the office, I suppose out of habit, at around 7 or 7:15. And that voice will not be there, as it has been for almost 19 years. Kathy will return to a place she calls home—her beloved Maine. I know I speak for all who have worked with her over these past 34 years, in saying thank you for all she has done to make this a better place. And on their behalf, let me say that I wish her in her retirement a life full of new challenges, good health, and many other rewards she so richly deserves for her long and distinguished career in public service.

We thank you, Kathy, for a job well done.

AFRICAN GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT—Continued

Mr. ROTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Oregon). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, some of my esteemed colleagues argued this past week that we are losing jobs in manufacturing, particularly in textiles and apparel, because we have set the American standard of living too high through the minimum wage, Social Se-

curity, Medicare, workplace safety rules, environmental standards, and social policies such as parental leave. That is the sort of broad assertion we have heard about every trade bill or trade vote that has come to the floor in the past years.

They argue that any trade liberalization will lead to a reduction in our own labor and environmental standards, rather than encouraging an increase in the labor and environmental standards among the beneficiary countries. That attack on this legislation is wrong for three reasons.

First, there is no evidence that trade has weakened our labor and environmental standards—quite the contrary. During the period from 1970 to the present day, while trade as a percentage of American GDP more than doubled from 11 to 25 percent, our labor and environmental laws were strengthened. What we have witnessed has been the exact opposite of what the trade critics would have predicted. Our labor laws continue to provide strong protection to workers, and the reach of our workplace safety laws has continued to expand.

The last 30 years witnessed the passage of landmark environmental legislation, enormous set-asides of wilderness areas, and significant improvements in air and water quality. We have seen sufficient progress on endangered species so that the President recently removed the bald eagle from the list of endangered species. Who would have thought of a more potent symbol of the progress we have made in the last 30 years. Have we done enough? No. There is still more we can do to encourage conservation and environmental protection. Based on the last 30 years of evidence, there is no reason to forgo the benefits of trade based on the errant assumption that trade will somehow undermine the basic fabric of our environmental law or encourage a race to the bottom.

What has been true in the United States has also proved true elsewhere. The truth is that economic growth and a rising standard of living is a necessary predicate for higher labor and environmental standards, and trade is essential to both goals. What the most recent studies have shown is that air and water quality improve as per capita income increases. The growth in pollution declines as incomes rise. There should be no doubt, then, that poverty is the enemy of both labor and environmental standards and that both benefit from economic growth to which trade contributes.

Third, there are sound reasons why higher labor and environmental standards will not lead to a race to the bottom, even in a world of expanding trade. Pollution control costs, even in the dirtiest of industries, account for less than 1 or 2 percent of total production costs. In other words, even in the dirtiest of industries, the cost of compliance with our environmental standards is not sufficient to persuade com-

panies to invest in other countries simply to take advantage of lax environmental laws.

Trade critics who argue that trade will devastate the environment tend to overlook that firms generally invest in the developing world's pollution havens to gain market access, not to take advantage of the lower environmental standards. In other words, the companies generally invest because their exports face tariffs averaging between 10 and 30 percent, a cost disadvantage they can only overcome through investing on the other side of that tariff wall.

Given those facts, we would be better off beating down high tariffs in the developing countries in order to allow the export of goods from clean factories in the United States, rather than encouraging trade restraints that lead to investment in pollution havens.

Equally important, our companies tend to take their existing technology and production techniques with them, even when they do invest in pollution havens abroad, in order to get around the high tariff walls. They do not do this out of altruism. They do it because it makes good, cost-effective, economic sense.

Our companies have found ways of producing in the United States that both allow them to comply with our environmental standards and remain globally competitive. We should be encouraging the export of those techniques of manufacturing wherever we can. But what those facts most assuredly do not mean is that trade has somehow led to a race to the bottom. In fact, trade appears to lead to a rising standard of living in environmental as well as economic terms.

My colleagues say we can no longer compete in textiles and apparel because our producers compete with many countries in the world with far lower standards of living. They explicitly or implicitly argue that we must impose trade restraints in order to protect these industries and the associated jobs.

Let me be blunt: There is no protection in protectionism. For every job we save through trade restraints, we lose many more in other sectors of the economy. As we have learned this past summer during the debate over quota legislation, saving one job in the steel industry by imposing trade restraints puts 40 jobs in the consuming and exporting industries at risk. Those who oppose this legislation do not favor the win-win outcome that the Finance Committee bill would create and the textile industry itself supports.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Will the distinguished chairman yield for a question?

Mr. ROTH. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. The Senator spoke of those who oppose this legislation. I believe we voted to move to this legislation by a vote of 90-8?

Mr. ROTH. That is correct.